

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 170

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • JUNE 3, 1950

NUMBER 22

The Shape of Things

THIS WEEK THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL OF the United Nations will again assemble and again confront the problem of Jerusalem with which it grappled so futilely at its previous meeting in Geneva. Obviously, the statute drafted there, embodying the decision to internationalize the Jerusalem area voted last December by the General Assembly, is as unworkable as it is unjust. Rejected by both Israel and Jordan, recognized by responsible officials of the U. N. as impossible to implement, the Jerusalem statute was stillborn. The issue can only be dumped back in the lap of the General Assembly at its autumn session, where it will be debated all over again. On the eve of the Trusteeship Council meeting, a communication has been sent to President Truman urging that the United States take the initiative in substituting for the internationalization scheme a system of U. N. control limited to the care and protection of the Holy Places. This plan, described as an international curatorship, was submitted to the Assembly last year over the signature of fifteen prominent Americans. It has now won the support of 285 additional sponsors, many of them Protestant bishops, heads of theological seminaries, university presidents, and other leaders of liberal and religious opinion in this country. *The Nation* and the Nation Associates have backed the idea from the start, since it offers the only solution which, on the one hand, avoids the pitfalls of international administration and, on the other, meets the legitimate interests of those primarily concerned with the Holy Places. As we go to press, a new Israeli plan has been put forward based on the curatorship proposal. We believe sufficient support for this plan will develop to end the present ugly partisan wrangle over the Holy City.

★

THE INITIAL JUBILATION AND SURPRISE over the contract between General Motors and the United Automobile Workers was bound to be followed by a sober examination of its terms and by reservations from several points of view. We believe the five-year agreement has so far stood up very well under inspection. From the right come the expected fears of possible inflationary effects. Actually these would seem to be largely imaginary. The annual four-cent-an-hour increase in basic wages, nothing new in principle, is in

fact a boost of one cent, since the preceding two-year contract called for three-cent annual increases, and there was no expectation that the union would settle for less than that in the renewal. Acceptance of the so-called "escalator clause," under which the union ties cost-of-living increases, or decreases, to the Labor Department's consumers' price index, should discourage the company from trying to make the buyers of cars carry the full burden of additional labor costs. As Walter Reuther says, the company is in effect "committed to holding prices down."

★

BUT COMMUNISTS CALL THE CONTRACT A weapon in the cold war. As the *Daily Worker* headlines the story, "GM Pact Chains Workers to 5 Yrs. Speed-up." These exponents of Stakhanovism, Russian for speed-up, base their attack on the clause which recognizes "that to produce more with the same amount of human effort is a sound economic and social objective." This sounds like an acceptance of technological improvements, which unions have traditionally frowned on out of fear of unemployment. But a modified union-shop offers protection on this score. As for the "cold-war" objection, it is undoubtedly true that the whole concept of a five-year contract, envisioning uninterrupted production, is a psychological blow at Soviet propaganda which portrays the United States as a strife-torn country on the brink of depression and chaos. All these factors and others demand discussion at greater length than is possible here. They will be treated fully in an analysis by Aaron Levenstein, which we plan to publish in an early issue.

★

WHATEVER HAPPENS IN THE RUN-OFF OF North Carolina's Senatorial primary, it is heartening to know that Dr. Frank P. Graham is the first choice of more of that state's Democrats than any of his rivals. In a field of four he came extremely close to an outright majority. And this in spite of a campaign against him in which the mud flew freely, the Communist issue was played for all it was worth, and racial tensions were exploited with shamelessness and downright dishonesty. The esteem and affection which Graham has for years enjoyed in his state made it improbable that he would suffer the rebuff that Senator Pepper received in the Florida primary, but he faced serious obstacles all the same. He had in truth had connections, however tenu-

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	539
Near East Solution? <i>by Freda Kirchwey</i>	541

ARTICLES

Cable from Berlin <i>by Keith Hutchison</i>	542
Notes from Capitol Hill <i>by Willard Shelton</i>	543
The Great American Heresy <i>by Albert Guérard</i>	544
British Labor Consolidates <i>by Keith Hutchison</i>	546
Dangerous Thoughts: Death of a Tradition <i>by The Observer</i>	547
Schuman Symphony. Cartoon <i>by David Low</i>	547
French Politics in the Shadows <i>by J. Alvarez del Vayo</i>	548
The Non-Committal Conference <i>by Howard K. Smith</i>	549
Beside the Point <i>by Robert Bendiner and Margaret Marshall</i>	551

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Commencement. <i>A Poem by Constance Carrier</i>	552
The Riddles of Franklin Roosevelt <i>by Raymond Swing</i>	552
Beyond the Curtain <i>by William Harlan Hale</i>	553
A New Utopia <i>by Richard Chase</i>	554
Books in Brief	555
Art <i>by Weldon Kees</i>	556
Music <i>by B. H. Haggin</i>	557

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 364

by Frank W. Lewis opposite 558

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Executive Editor: Harold C. Field

Foreign Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo *Literary Editor:* Margaret Marshall

Associate Editor: Robert Bendiner

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison

Washington Editor: Willard Shelton

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin
Assistant Editor: Jerry Tallmer *Copy Editor:* Gladys Whiteside

Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting

Staff Contributors

Carey McWilliams, Reinhold Niebuhr, Maxwell S. Stewart,
J. King Gordon, Ralph Bates, Andrew Roth

Business & Advertising Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1950, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas. *Subscription Prices:* Domestic—One year \$7; Two years \$12; Three years \$17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1. *Change of Address:* Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: *The Nation* is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

ous, with organizations that long afterward appeared on the Attorney General's index of "subversives"—a damning handicap in these feverish days. He had favored a "voluntary" Fair Employment Practices Act, and this was easily distorted by his opponents into a betrayal of Robert E. Lee and the white womanhood of the Confederacy. The campaign, moreover, was the first for this gentle man, trained to the campus rather than the hustings. And, finally, pneumonia compelled him to conduct much of the fight from a sickbed. In view of these factors, Dr. Graham's plurality of more than 50,000 votes is a tribute to himself and to the Democrats of North Carolina. Nevertheless, disappointment over the results is inevitable. It is taken for granted that Willis Smith, the Raleigh corporation lawyer who ran second, will inherit the great bulk of the vote that went to "Buncombe Bob" Reynolds and a pig-breeder named Boyd who came out for "legalized lynching." The hope is that some of the backwoodsmen who supported these dubious candidates will stay home on June 24 and that Graham will make enough of an inroad into the balance of their vote to overcome the narrow gap that separates him from a majority. The Senate and the nation will be the poorer if he fails. ✕

SECRETARY OF COMMERCE SAWYER MADE A mockery of President Truman's loyalty program, which is supposed to protect the innocent as well as guard the Federal government against those who can be called "subversive," by deciding to fire William W. Remington and Michael E. Lee on "administrative" grounds. Remington and Lee are victims of gross political campaigns by Congressmen; they have been mauled and investigated for years, and the loyalty of both is being tested in new reviews. Remington has been under scrutiny by a grand jury. For Sawyer to demand their resignations "in the interests of good administration," while blandly insisting that no reflection on their loyalty is intended, is an act of political cowardice which suggests that, under attack by Congress, no one is safe. Mr. Sawyer and his superior, President Truman, will learn that there is no political safety for the Administration in this surrender to what seems to be expediency. It would be both morally superior and politically wiser for them to rely on a courageous refusal to offer human sacrifices to Congress outside the formal loyalty procedures. ✕

THE IDAHO SUPREME COURT THIS WEEK hears the appeal of the four young Indians recently sentenced to fourteen years in the state penitentiary for stealing one sheep [see *The Nation*, December 17, 1949, and March 25, 1950]. Last week, the Association on American Indian Affairs released the text of its enlightening brief *amicus curiae* entered in their behalf.

It reveals that none of the Indians, who range in age from nineteen to twenty-two years, have gone beyond the eighth grade; one is illiterate; one is mentally deficient. The eighth-grade graduate became a father last October, and on the evening of the crime they were jointly celebrating this happy occasion. Driving from DeSmet to Tekoa, Idaho, in order to purchase baby clothes and presents, they "obtained quantities of liquor and beer and commenced an unplanned detour," in the course of which they stopped to chase a sheep that crossed the highway. They caught the animal and put it in the rear trunk with the "gay notion that it should be added to the other presents as a pet." Then they proceeded to the town of Spalding, where a bartender refused to serve them and ejected them from his café at the point of a gun. From here, they took their separate ways home, and were each arrested the next morning. The police officers had no warrants and placed no formal charges, but told the youths that there had been a complaint about the previous night's disturbance in Spalding. Presently, the police discovered the sheep, still in the trunk; the Indians had forgotten all about it. They were advised to plead guilty to the "theft" since the District Judge would deal leniently with them. In their ignorance, waiving right of counsel, they so pleaded—and "justice" triumphed.

★

THERE IS REASON TO WONDER WHICH IS the more uncomfortable over the prospect of an anti-Marcantonio coalition—Marcantonio himself or New York County's Republican Chairman, Thomas J. Curran. If the Republicans, Democrats, and Liberals actually follow through on their much talked of scheme to run a common candidate against the leftist Representative, there is not much doubt that they can crush him by sheer weight of numbers, but the plan has Mr. Curran on the horns of a particularly painful dilemma. If the Republicans openly kill the coalition plan, they will be charged with helping the lone champion of the Communists on Capitol Hill—patently a drawback in the nationwide G. O. P. campaign to paint the Administration a gaudy red. On the other hand, if Curran goes along with the other parties, he will incur the displeasure—and perhaps lose the support—of some of his top district leaders. For the embarrassing truth (Mr. McCarthy please note) is that, for all the anti-Communist yammering the Republicans have done, they have for years enjoyed cozy relations with the American Labor Party on the ward-and-precinct level, especially in New York's Eighteenth Congressional district. The pay-off takes the form, principally, of A. L. P. support for Republican judicial candidates. Then, too, the G. O. P. in New York is eager to have the Labor Party put up a strong candidate for governor in the hope that

he will draw votes from the Democrats. With these weighty considerations in mind, it is no wonder that Curran has been talking coalition but not quite getting down to cases. The hope appears to be that by insisting on an implausible candidate like Mrs. Wendell Willkie, he may be able to kill the coalition and put the onus for its death on the Democrats. This is a difficult play, however, and we imagine he will be driven, in the end, to accept coalition. But the situation offers a nice case study in the hypocrisy of the Republican crusade to save us all from "creeping communism."

Near East Solution?

BY FRED KIRCHWEY

THE new three-power arms plan for the Middle East is a plausible maneuver behind which lurk several disturbing possibilities. Certainly, if Britain is to continue to send arms, including tanks and jet planes, to the Arab states, it is only just that the embargo on arms for Israel should be lifted, and for this the new arrangement provides—though it makes no promises. When the plan was announced, Ambassador Elath in Washington promptly renewed Israel's application for arms; if it gets them, then this particular provision will have served to right a glaring wrong.

But will the arms actually be supplied or will Washington, in agreements with its Western partners, decide that Israel's application does not merit approval in the light of the "principles" laid down in the statement, that is, "that the Arab states and Israel all need to maintain a certain level of armed forces for the purposes of assuring their internal security, their legitimate self-defense, and to permit them to play their part in the defense of the area as a whole"? Without harboring more suspicion than experience justifies, one can spot several possible jokers in that formula. For example, it might simply be determined that Israel's security, internal or external, is not threatened; indeed, that has been the official view right along. Or the Western Allies, before supplying arms, might wish to extract guaranties from the Israelis, or perhaps hereafter from all the affected states, of their willingness to cooperate "in the defense of the area as a whole." Such a condition would imply several steps that have not yet been taken. It would be meaningless until peace had been made between Israel and the Arab states. It would further depend upon the willingness of all of them to form part of the anti-Russian bloc, carrying the containing wall from Turkey south through Egypt and east to the Indian Ocean.

Are these implications suggested in the "principles" which are to govern the granting of arms? Assuming they are, the plan is not likely to amount to much. For while Israel badly needs modern weapons if its neighbors continue to get them, its foreign policy is firmly

based upon a desire for neutrality and peaceful relations with all nations. Israel would probably decide to go on dealing in the black market as at present rather than buy arms at the expense of its own "principles."

As for the Arabs, they, too, have reason to scrutinize the new plan. After all, in the past their needs for arms have been taken care of without any bothersome *quid pro quo*. If they are now not only to agree to keep the peace and respect frontier and armistice lines in the Middle East but also, perhaps, to sign up with the Western nations against Russia, their freedom of maneuver will be severely limited. At this moment, both Syria and Egypt are separately flirting with Moscow as a warning to the West that their feelings about Israel should not be treated lightly. To the Arab states, the chief value of the three-power plan is its assurance that the protests against the sale of arms to them have come to nothing. Some of its other possibilities are also disturbing.

Disinterested outsiders looking at the state of things in the Middle East—Israel, with millions already going for arms that should be used for housing and new production; the Arab countries, sunk in squalor, hunger, and disease, with money only for guns and planes—disinterested outsiders must wonder that the great Western nations could find no better way to advance the "peace and stability" of the region than to systematize its supply of modern weapons. When did such a plan ever make for either peace or stability? If the Arabs are to be sold arms, surely the Israelis should be sold arms also. But why should arms continue to go to the Arabs, who have already shown their contempt for world opinion by invading Palestine in defiance of the United Nations? How much better if the great powers had applied their energies to the task of making peace between Israel and the Arab world instead of providing means of further armed conflict! The three-power plan is, we fear, an ill-considered offspring of the cold war.

Cable from Berlin

Berlin, May 28

ALTHOUGH the big Whitsuntide rally of the Communist-sponsored Freie Deutsche Jugend (F. D. J.) is still proceeding as I write, it is highly improbable that anything will happen to mar the peaceful atmosphere that has prevailed during the weekend. In the last two days I have spent a number of hours in the neighborhood of the Brandenburger Tor and the Potsdamer Platz—the two points on the border of the Western and Russian sectors where trouble was considered most likely to occur. There was no sign of anything like an incident. At neither point was there a large crowd, and quite small police forces served to keep the sightseers on the move. Far more people, in

fact, gathered in and around the automobile show organized in West Berlin as a counter-attraction.

Up and down Unter den Linden, blue-shirted boys and girls of the F. D. J. have been marching, singing, and listening to speeches by East German President Pieck, Deputy Premier Walter Ulbricht, and other Communist leaders, but their enthusiasm has been dampened somewhat by frequent downpours of cold rain. Youthful audiences have been told over and over that their "gigantic manifestation of the will to peace" has caused consternation among the "Western warmongers." Apparently, the Communists are attempting to make everyone forget that the first declared purpose of the Youth Rally was to march on and take over Western Berlin. Perhaps the fulfilment of this threat was never seriously intended, but it compelled the Western authorities to take precautionary measures. Tear gas was issued to the West German police, on whom in the first place the maintenance of order devolved, and the Allied garrisons were reinforced and alerted. However, great care was taken to avoid provocations and troops were held out of sight, for employment only in the event of an emergency. Only a few military police and one or two scout cars were to be seen on the streets in the vicinity of the sector boundaries. When U. G. O.—the Western trade-union organization—sent a loudspeaker van to harangue the Easterners across the border, it was chased off by the British military.

The Eastern authorities seem to have been equally anxious to prevent incidents. They issued orders against the infiltration of Western sectors by young blue-shirts and yesterday stopped all surface traffic between the two parts of the city. They even displayed unusual amiability toward Western visitors, and an American Military Government photographer told me he had encountered no difficulties when taking pictures of the procession on Unter den Linden yesterday.

Probably, both sides will claim that the weekend has brought them victory. The Western authorities believe that if they had not adopted an extremely firm attitude they would have had a serious situation on their hands. They have, they feel, shown once again their determination not to be pushed out of Berlin by Soviet-inspired stunts. In terms of their original objectives, the Communists have succeeded in staging a flop, which hasn't added to their prestige in Western Germany. However, they'll certainly assert that their well-disciplined demonstrators, by ignoring the "provocative" preparations of the Western military, have unmasked the warlike imperialists and succeeded in proving to the world the effectiveness of the Soviet peace campaign. At least, they have induced the rush to Berlin of nearly two hundred special correspondents from all parts of the Western world, and so secured a tremendous volume of free publicity for their rally.

KEITH HUTCHISON

Notes from Capitol Hill

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, May 26

CROCODILE tears began to flow again on Capitol Hill when President Truman sharply rejected a proposal for a "voluntary" fair-employment-practices bill as a substitute for the Administration measure. This uncompromising attitude, it was said, wrecked whatever chance there might be to salvage civil-rights legislation in the Eighty-first Congress, and there were renewed murmurs that the Administration should have pushed an anti-poll-tax bill or anti-lynching bill instead of the hotly controversial FEPC, so strongly opposed by the Southerners.

Not to belabor matters, a "toothless" FEPC bill like that passed by the House would be much better than nothing. It would represent the first clear-cut Congressional declaration of policy against economic discrimination. It would have an influence on the hiring policies of big corporations, which because they are big are sensitive to criticism. It would open the way to publicized hearings in various localities on employment practices. Unfortunately, no civil-rights legislation is likely to be passed until nation-wide public opinion is clearly focused on a demand that it be passed.

But there is no substantial reason to think that the Senators who are fighting the Administration's FEPC bill would not also feel bound to filibuster a "voluntary" bill or an anti-poll-tax bill. They might accept abolition of the poll tax through constitutional amendment instead of simple statute, but to do this would be to admit that Congress now has no authority over federal election practices; the cure would be worse than the disease. The FEPC proposal, moreover, is pushed by minority groups because it is the one measure which deeply concerns them in the North, rather than in the resisting South. The Negro in Harlem or Detroit may be abstractly interested in whether his cousin in Alabama is allowed to vote; he is intensely and immediately interested in whether he himself can get a job in an automobile factory or an office.

Under the Wherry rule adopted last year the Senate cannot break a filibuster with fewer than sixty-four votes, and the Southern Senators and silver-state Senators together are a large enough block to make the accumulation of sixty-four votes almost impossible. Impossible, that is to say, unless the rest of the country develops a conscience which makes it politically stupid for either Democrats or Republicans from the North and West to play ball with the Southerners. When that time

comes, the Southerners will really mean it when they begin to talk "compromise" and the desirability of at least step-by-step progress toward an agreed goal.

TWO years ago, when the House Judiciary Committee reported a bill to override the Supreme Court's decision in the California tidelands-oil case, only two members—Emanuel Celler of New York and Sam Hobbs of Alabama—dissented. The dissenting committee minority this year has grown; it now totals eight of twenty-seven members, with Celler and Hobbs still leading the fight to prevent Congress from passing out to the oil companies and the people of three or four states "untold resources and mineral riches which are part of the heritage of all the people."

Texas, Louisiana, and Mississippi Democrats, backed by the Republicans, are trying to forestall court decisions in two cases now pending in which the federal government is claiming ownership of offshore oil in the Gulf of Mexico. They are trying to give belated legitimacy to leases granted by the states to private oil companies after the high court upheld federal claims in the California case. The oil companies, naturally, are all in favor of this; they would much rather exploit offshore oil reserves under state than under federal control.

The Celler-Hobbs minority report of 1950 is pretty eloquent on this subject. The quest for oil, it declares, has historically "stimulated greed and plunder, and the oil buccaneers of the twentieth century have much more to gain than Captain Kidd, LaFitte, and the motley crews who made the history of piracy so colorful." The oil interests, the report continues, "seek to foreclose on Mr. Neptune himself" and leave the nation's oil birth-right "as debauched as the cotton fields of the South and the vast ranges of the West." Mr. Truman successfully vetoed a "states' rights" tidelands oil bill in the Seventy-ninth Congress, and there is little chance that the Eighty-first Congress would pass a similar bill over another veto. But the Eighty-second Congress—the one to be elected next November—might pass it, if Republicans and Dixiecrats increase their strength.

AMERICAN diplomatic staffs in a couple of Eastern European countries are still considerably larger than the staffs those countries maintain in this country. A check at the Department of State shows that we now have fifty-eight Americans officially in Poland, as

against twelve Poles here, and twenty-seven in Hungary as against twelve Hungarians here. After first demanding that we cut our staff of sixty persons by two-thirds, the Czechs have now asked a reduction to twelve persons, including four "diplomats" and one "attendant." In preliminary retaliation we have closed the Czech consulates in Chicago, Pittsburgh, and Cleveland, leaving Prague with thirteen representatives, plus New York consular spokesmen, in America. The Rumanians have asked for a reduction of our staff from twenty-one persons to ten; they have six people here, "including one chauffeur." The United States and Bulgaria have no diplomatic relations whatever.

Oddly enough, while the satellite countries are applying pressure, the Russians in Washington are tentatively blossoming out, on a scale not known since before the war. One Soviet embassy official recently gave a reception in his own home for Western officials and newspapermen, an event without precedent in the last decade. The Poles energetically promote cultural relations; there have been many parties commemorating the musical achievements of Chopin. But it is a fairly lonely life for the satellite diplomats. For our part we should prefer larger staffs in Eastern Europe than the cold war permits. Tremendous masses of information about production, employment, and similar matters are easily available to anyone in Washington from published government reports, whereas the same kind of information in the satellite nations may be considered a top "national secret."

This distinction is not a reflection of official American attitudes, but is reported by correspondents back from Europe.

THE pleasantest fact about Washington today is that neither the Department of State nor anybody else shows any inclination to lie down before Joe McCarthy. The Wisconsin Senator demonstrated his ingenuity again last night when he advanced the remarkable new thesis that Dean Acheson, Owen Lattimore, and Philip Jessup were somehow involved in a "plot" about recognition of Communist China, but the department promptly nailed him again with a chapter-and-verse recital of his now notorious carelessness with facts.

Senator Chavez of New Mexico, who blasted Louis Budenz and McCarthy himself on the Senate floor, is bearing up serenely under the counter-attack. Senator Tydings of Maryland is methodically proceeding with his subcommittee investigation. Senator Taft, who for weeks allowed a story to stand that he had told McCarthy to "keep bringing up new cases" if one should be knocked down, wrote Ohio editors to explain that he had not really egged McCarthy on. McCarthy, of course, did not risk libel suits in his speech to Catholic editors at Rochester, New York, by honoring his pledge to repeat off the Senate floor any charge he made under Congressional immunity—specifically his charge that Lattimore was the "top Russian espionage agent," or even a Communist.

The Great American Heresy

BY ALBERT GUERARD

EFFORTS to achieve a bigger national income are more important than sharing what we now have." When I read these words of Leon Keyserling in *The Nation* for January 21, they struck me as the perfect expression of the great American heresy, and I was moved to assert the exact reverse: "Efforts to share what we now have are far more important than achieving a bigger national income." But I am no doctrinaire; I am feeling my way. These reflections will not be a counterblast to Keyserling, nor a debate with Keyserling, who might well be amused at the thought. Let us call these random notes "Variations on a Keyserling Theme."

Keyserling speaks of "sharing what we now have." First of all, who are *we*? The question is totally different if we think in terms of a self-contained national

economy or in terms of One World. The global view is the Christian one, therefore condemned as "starry-eyed" by all good realists. It is also the farsighted view: ultimately, too great a contrast between destitution and plenty will cause a revolution, which might well compel us to share, through the most cruel and wasteful of processes. In world terms the situation is tragic: we may lose the race between sharing and catastrophe, for it is doubtful whether improvements in technique will keep pace with the increased population of Asia. We still refuse to face the problem stated, clumsily if you please, by old Malthus. If we fully accepted our world-wide responsibility, it would indeed be our first goal to intensify production, and *pari passu* to establish a rigid system of priorities: no luxuries until the hungry are fed. A war-time economy: the world is a city beleaguered by the unwanted.

But I do not forget how contemptuously America rejected the man who wanted "a quart of milk for every Hottentot." This was the Great Refusal, which

ALBERT GUERARD, professor emeritus of comparative and general literature at Stanford University, is the author of "Education of a Humanist."

history will not fail to register. Let us therefore think of this country alone, as an autarchy, "first, last, and all the time," according to the gospel of Messrs. Hearst and McCormick. In these narrower terms is it true that our first concern should be for expansion rather than for proper distribution?

TWO qualifications at once rise in our minds. The first is that *glutting* does not truly increase the national income. Ill-planned, ill-distributed production may boom for a while but leads only to depression—the familiar paradoxes of "bread lines knee-deep in unsold wheat," of fish catches thrown back into the sea, of fruit rotting as not worth the picking, of Brazilian locomotives burning coffee—a fragrant absurdity. It is a sign of economic immaturity that the *real* income, measured in terms of consumption, should not more closely approximate the financial returns. The wealth of nations is made up of natural resources developed by well-trained, well-equipped, well-organized manpower. Dollars are but symbols, and all finances, capitalistic as well as socialistic, mere bookkeeping. A nation that is well housed, well fed, and well educated is rich. If the accountants turn into gamblers or capricious dictators, they should be superseded. America's business—the material substratum of American life—is production and distribution, not the Stock Exchange.

Not all expansion is to the national advantage. The Southerners want to expand their cotton fields, although they know the market cannot absorb the present supply. The planters refuse to submit to economic law, and good socialists as they are, they expect the government to guarantee their prices. This way madness lies. It might be far better if the cotton growers did not expand. In a regime of free enterprise cotton, silver, and every other industry should take its chance in open competition, national and foreign. This would spell the end of Hooverian protection of subsidies, of price support. We now have "planning," but planning twisted by the lobbies for the benefit of special interests.

Then it should be obvious that all products, even if they should find a ready market, are not of equal profit to the community. In the "national income" sables, diamond tiaras, atomic bombs, all count for their price value in the same way as bread. This confusion might easily lead to a civilization of hovels and palaces such as developed in colonial Mexico, India, czarist Russia, or, less glaringly, Victorian England and America of the Gilded Age.

Keyserling is aware of the danger. He favors "policies affecting income flow." In blunt terms this means equalization; the many must have more for decencies, the "élites" less for luxuries. This view—the purest

Saint-Simonism—is, he affirms, "generally shared by economists, social scientists, and thoughtful business men." What a pity thoughtful business men should be so rare!

In this I am in full agreement with Keyserling. But in the quotation above I omitted one crucial word: policies for expansion should be *supplemented* by policies affecting income flow. I maintain that with our present high level of production the most urgent need is proper distribution, not expansion. Expansion *per se* would not cure our present ills and, indeed, might make them more grievous. Above all, even if every urgent need were satisfied, expansion would not relieve the tension, the anxiety, the insistence on material goods and material success that are the curse of American life.

I am no Rousseau, no Thoreau, no Gandhi. I abominate camping, and I am thankful for all the achievements of modern technique. I want them to expand, provided expansion be only a healthy normal process and not a goal in itself. Keyserling's Utopia—fifty suits in every closet, three helicopters in every garage—does not appeal to me. It turns mass production into an idol, with the hucksters as its priests. It means high-pressure promotion, high-pressure salesmanship—a nightmare. I have known, I still know, a saner life, and I am not willing to forfeit it.

This is not the place for my Utopia: wait till my bottle in the sea is washed ashore. I can only say that it is very different both from Thoreau's and from Keyserling's. I shall limit myself to my own field, the humanities. There I know that expansion is a snare. I do not want to increase the national income of commercialized art. I could do with fewer books, fewer movies, fewer radio programs. I do not desire to see a statue at every street corner, or my walls solidly covered with canvases, abstract or sensible. I found more enjoyment and more nutriment in the old Paris *Temps* (confound its politics!), with only four pages, than in the twenty sections of a metropolitan Sunday edition. I appreciate the grace of a single Hula dancer better than the precision kicking of fifty Rockettes. I am not impressed by bulging menus; I have feasted on a single course, with a glass of wine and a bit of cheese. In all things, material as well as spiritual, I vote for selection, quality, balance.

The two great Workers' Republics, the U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R., are both turning their mighty backs on that ideal of classic measure. Both, like Keyserling, are thinking first of all of a bigger national income. The U. S. S. R. has a valid excuse: it started this century a pauper compared with us, and was ruined three times over by civil and foreign wars. For decades increased production must be its goal. *But we have enough.* It is time to make more intelligent use of what we have.

British Labor Consolidates

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

London, May 23

LAST night, after a debate on housing, the Labor government repelled a Tory attempt to overthrow it by a bare six votes, raising once more the question of how long the present unstable Parliamentary situation can be sustained. Most people I have talked to since my arrival three days ago believe that the government will manage to survive until the present session ends in late July. After that, unless there is an unexpected crisis, it will not have to meet Parliament again until the fall.

What will happen then? One member of the government told me today that in his opinion an October election was very possible. A leading party official disagreed: he thought the government might very well continue to live dangerously until early 1951. What worries everyone in all parties is the prospect that a new vote would not end the stalemate, for there is no sign yet of a strong swing of opinion either way. Tories talk of—one might almost say hope for—a new economic crisis that will enable them to sweep the country. But the immediate economic outlook seems promising. Production and exports continue to expand; American prosperity is creating a rising demand for sterling-area raw materials, which means more dollars for Britain.

In the event of a fall election the economic situation should be more favorable to Labor than it was last February. However, it is hardly likely to be so dramatically improved that Labor will obtain the forty or so additional seats it needs for a safe majority. How, then, is the deadlock to be broken and a new victory won?

Fifty-two prominent Labor leaders—Cabinet ministers, members of the party's National Executive Committee, trade-union and cooperative officials—met in Surrey last week-end to discuss that question. They had before them a statistical report on the last election which indicated that at least one-third of the wage-earners and the low-salaried workers had either voted for other parties or abstained. Obviously, that proportion had to be sharply reduced if Labor was to extricate itself from its present precarious position. "Nye" Bevan, leader of the left-wing group at the conference, is reported to have urged a strong program calculated to arouse the class-consciousness of the workers: that was the way to wean them from their Tory and Liberal allegiances. But Herbert Morrison, canny party manager, pointed out that such a strategy might frighten away more support than it attracted. The party's very success in creating better conditions had weakened the emotional basis for a class appeal: an increasing number of those who statis-

tically belonged to the working class felt that they were middle-class.

Morrison's view apparently was that the keynote of party policy in the immediate future should be neither retreat nor advance but consolidation, and the consensus of opinion at the meeting, I learn, was with him. That view, therefore, will guide the National Executive Committee in preparing a policy statement for submission to the annual party conference in October.

In all truth there is considerable scope for consolidation. Since 1945 the Labor government has enacted a program which in everything but method has been revolutionary. Much of what it has accomplished has been accepted as permanent, even by its opponents. But many people in all parties believe that some of the legislation of the past five years suffered from over-hasty preparation; and actual operation has revealed deficiencies and errors that must be corrected. For instance, the administrative machinery of several of the nationalized industries needs reexamination. In one or two cases more decentralization might prove desirable; in all there is need for better provision for worker and consumer consultation.

It is to such matters rather than to schemes for a further extension of public ownership that the new Labor policy statement is expected to address itself. Possibly it will suggest alternative methods of dealing with private monopolies, such as the encouragement of consumers' cooperatives. Undoubtedly it will stress the importance of strengthening all economic defenses in preparation for possible shocks after the end of E. R. P.

The most serious gap in these defenses is the lack of a wage policy, for with planned full employment the determination of wages by unrestricted collective bargaining must generate inflationary pressures. Up to now this danger has been largely avoided by the self-restraint of the trade unions. But the voluntary wage freeze has created injustices, and it is beginning to break down. In fact, it is admitted in government circles that some increases must be permitted in the near future. If these increases are moderate they can be met, thanks to increased production, without inflationary strain. However, something more than a piecemeal adjustment of wage rates is required. There must be a new method of determining what proportion of the national income can be distributed in wages, and a democratic mechanism for establishing priorities among different claimants for increases. This is a problem which both the trade-union movement and the government is exploring. At a later date I hope to report on their findings.

Death of a Tradition

I KEEP wondering about William Cullen Bryant. This fact alone proves we have Traditions. Because when I start wondering about William Cullen Bryant it must mean he is still in the air. Not that I was ever exactly a Bryant fan. To me as to most other one-time students this American Wordsworth comes to mind as a plaster bust, or as a man born at the age of eighty, with a long white beard.

Still, there was a time, long, long ago, when as editor of the *New York Evening Post* Bryant voiced opinions which were thunder claps in the American sky. I search for our traditions and maybe they are most real when uttered not by the Audens of an age but by the Edgar Guests. Unfortunately it is from the plaster busts that one learns what the people thought; at best the Thoreaus and the Poes say what the people should have been thinking or might think some day.

In 1836 there were riots in America—just like that Peekskill affair. There were also Dangerous Thoughts in 1836, and the worst, the most horrific, the most explosive was Abolitionism. Men were fired for muttering Abolition, put out of schools for consorting with Abolitionists, flogged or tarred and feathered, and in the North. Why? Because they were Trying to Make Trouble. They were stubborn, too. An ordinary man "couldn't hope to argue with them." And worst of all, a lot of them believed that the issue could be settled only by violent action.

If ever America had an unpopular "left wing," it was the Abolitionists of the 1830's. Liberals who "shared some of their views" quickly denied any sympathy with them when driven out into the open, and no respectable political figure would so much as sit next to one in a horse car. The proof of their extreme untouchability was Lincoln's refusal to identify himself with them until almost the end—he who finally waged their war and wrote their Proclamation.

But we had a Tradition in those days. (Do we still?) I know we must have had it because William Cullen Bryant got mad one morning in August and

wrote an editorial. He first told about the riots, the beatings, the ostracism, the bloodshed, and then commented on the self-righteousness of the attackers, who waved the American flag to the applause of all good Americans.

If the Abolitionists *must* be put down . . . [he said], the community have the power in their own hands; the majority may make a law declaring the discussion of slavery in a certain manner to be a crime, and imposing penalties. The law may then be put in force against the offenders, and their mouths be gagged in due form and with all the solemnities of justice.

What is the reason this is not done? The answer is ready . . . there is not a committee that can be raised in any of the state legislatures north of the Potomac who will report in favor of imposing penalties on those who declaim against slavery.

It took a lot of guts to say this in New York in 1836. But where are we today?

Today not only can a committee "be raised in any of the state legislatures in favor of imposing penalties" on those who utter ideas abhorrent to the majority, but the United States government itself has recently convicted eleven Communists for "teaching and advocating" Marxism. "Teaching and ad-

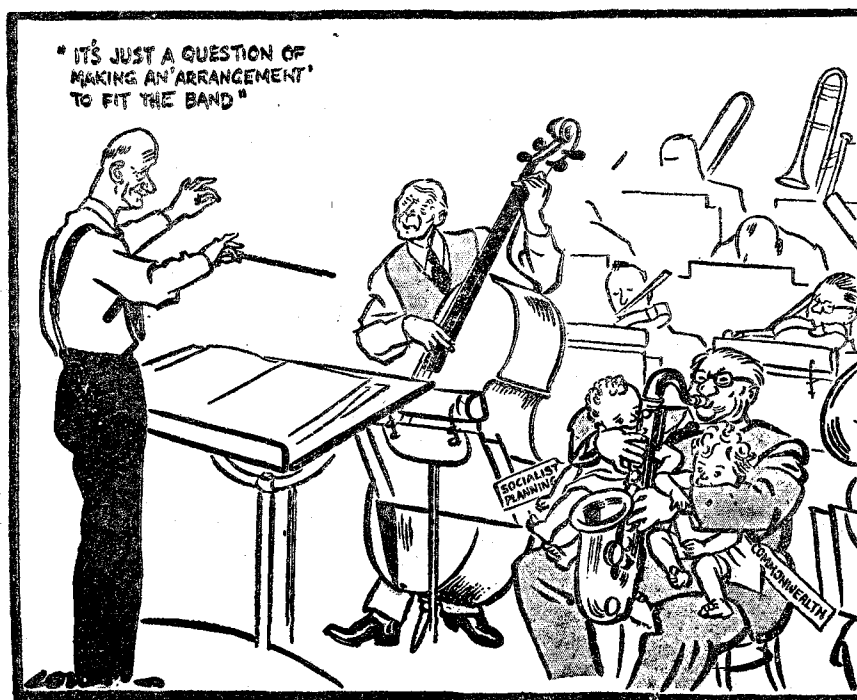
vocating" was the charge and nothing else.

Today the Judiciary Committee of the United States Senate approves the Mundt bill, which not only "imposes penalties" but claps you into jail for belonging to the Communist Party and failing to register the fact.

But why go on? The point is that our tradition seems to have got itself befuddled somewhere between August 8, 1836, and today. Mobs, outdoor or judicial and legislative, which break the heads of minority groups have either become more representative of the American mind, or else the liberals and radicals who once took the responsibility for expressing that mind have themselves been infected with the Red Menace psychology.

All of which illuminates for me my new interest in William Cullen Bryant. Perhaps my subconscious was searching for a man who could be quoted without being suspected of membership in one of Tom Clark's subversive organizations. Still, who knows? Speaking of "the belief in witchcraft, astrology, the agency of foul spirits in the affairs of men," Bryant maintained that "the bigoted and implicit reception of them" was not "at all favorable to the exercise of poetic talent." A man who'll say things like that will say anything.

THE OBSERVER



SCHUMAN SYMPHONY

London Daily Herald

French Politics in the Shadows

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, May 27

IT IS a great change to emerge from the placid atmosphere of the Atlantic Council, which in spite of inner differences performed as harmoniously as a well-trained orchestra under the expert baton of Dean Acheson, into the tumult of French domestic politics. Two parties have just held their annual congresses—the Mouvement Républicain Populaire (M. R. P.) and the French Socialist Party (S. F. I. D.), both formerly important components of the Third Force—and the proceedings showed what a hopeless task it is to try to hold together the pieces of the coalition which has governed the country since the withdrawal of the Communists. While the Cabinet plays the role of a prolonged caretaker government, French politics are being carried on in the shadows. The threat of new elections may have helped M. Bidault to remain in power, but he undoubtedly feels extremely uncomfortable in his present situation (see Sennep's amusing cartoon).

The congress of the M. R. P. occupied itself chiefly with the question of electoral reform. It reached the conclusion that any projected reform must follow rather than precede an agreement on a program of government action. That is true, but the question remains: What program? Prime Minister Bidault, who was reelected party chairman by an overwhelming majority, tried very adroitly to reconcile conflicting opinions. He appealed to the delegates' "sense of reality" and urged them not to be seduced by a desire for popularity into supporting every new demand of the unions for higher wages or be fooled by the Communists' peace program.

But even this preeminently Catholic party is permeated with heresy, in spite of its dread of incurring the displeasure of the Pope. The ideological conflict between Tito and the Cominform has its parallel in Catholic France. Many M. R. P. members repudiate the excessively reactionary course which Europe is taking today under the pretext of defending Christian civilization against the Kremlin. These dissenters were behind the candidacy of Joseph Dumas for the position of secretary general. André Collin was reelected, but M. Dumas, who represents the leftist elements, received 224 votes to M. Collin's 341, a highly significant achievement.

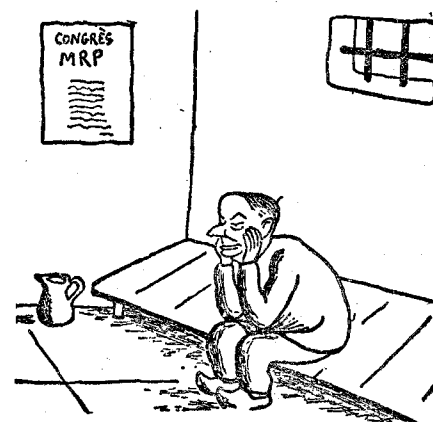
The congress produced no real program. The text of the resolution finally adopted was as equivocal as any ever accepted by the Radical Party, which used to be noted for its compromises and concessions. Such was the unofficial and entirely sincere comment of Maurice

Schumann, who will continue to serve as chairman in Bidault's place while the latter is Prime Minister.

The Socialist Party congress was also unable to agree on a program of action. Léon Blum was sorely missed. It is true that in recent years he had made no distinguished contributions to Socialist policy, but his eloquence was always inspiring and his dexterity in formulating conciliatory resolutions was unmatched. The only energetic stand taken by the congress was against re-entering the Cabinet of M. Bidault. The siren song of the M. R. P., inviting the Socialists to collaborate in re-establishing the Third Force, fell on deaf ears. Most of the provincial branches were unalterably opposed.

The Socialist Party in France as in other countries of Western Europe sees no way out of the situation in which it finds itself as the result, on the one hand, of its unconditional support of the Marshall Plan and, on the other, of its fanatical anti-Communist position. In London I was told that at an intimate meeting of the Fabian Society a few weeks ago Aneurin Bevan had been extremely outspoken about the current difficulties of the Western Socialist movement, particularly the British movement. The forceful leader of what remains of the Labor Party's left wing chose the Fabian Society for his tribune because he thought his strictures would have more weight with the intellectuals of the party than with the trade unions. Apparently he did not mince his words. He even hinted that he might leave the party and launch a movement which would not continually adapt itself to the tactics of the enemy, or feel forced to tag along after the Americans in matters of foreign policy.

Many French Socialists are quite as eager to free the party from reactionary influences, if one may judge from the speeches at the congress. The rank and file want a genuinely Socialist policy. They deny that Russian aggression against Western Europe is inevitable. They do not see why 1953 must be the "fatal year," as American generals assert; if the Soviet Union is only waiting for a favorable moment to overrun



Sennep, courtesy *Franc-Tireur*

Europe, why does it not strike now when its army could advance almost unopposed from the Elbe to Finisterre, instead of waiting until the Atlantic coalition has perfected its defense? However, the rank and file do not decide policy. They must wait till some courageous and imaginative figure rises up to lead the party out of the morass in which it is sunk.

For years Western socialism has been paralyzed; it has shown no sign of initiative, courage, or militancy. Resignation, refusal to face the problem of how to achieve unity on the left against the mounting reaction, reluctance to take risks—a negative position pure and simple: that is the common characteristic of the Socialist parties of the West.

The Non-Committal Conference

BY HOWARD K. SMITH

London, May 25

AS A GESTURE of tardy appeasement to an irritated and news-starved corps of correspondents, the twelve Atlantic Pact Foreign Ministers threw open the last session of their London conference to the public—consisting of a hundred-odd reporters. When the ten-minute period for taking photographs was over, a large red bulb over the head of Mr. Acheson flashed several times to indicate they were on the air. After three-quarters of an hour the red light bulb went off and the twelve men rose and filed out of the room. The reporters were no wiser and no less uninspired than before.

That appears to have been the kind of conference it was—non-committal. The communiqués issued at the end of each afternoon's session were a blur of language in which the twelve ministers "took contact," "reviewed the situation," "surveyed," "expressed the objective," "reaffirmed," "reiterated," "expressed the hope," and "agreed in principle." Their one material act was to create a permanent council of their deputies. That in itself, however, is not exciting or committal either: it has become a post-war habit of Western diplomacy to create at least one permanent council of some sort at each conference, and more often than not with the purpose of performing an abortion on policy rather than fostering it.

Perhaps the only way of bringing some definition and focus into the blur left by the conference is to recall why the ministers felt induced to meet in the first place and to piece together some circumstantial evidence as to how close they came to satisfying their purposes.

There was a general feeling that the West was slipping backward in the power contest with Russia. In Asia the Communist conquest of China has given the Soviet bloc the indisputable initiative to probe and thrust at will, with the Western powers on the frantic defensive. In Europe the Western powers are in the stronger position, but there is a pervasive feeling that the situation is maturing for a shift of fortunes in favor

of Russia. Strong diplomacy must be based on the unspoken threat of a strong armed force, and the superiority of force on which the West has depended for four years—America's monopoly of the atom bomb—has been canceled out. The race is now for all-round arms superiority, and particularly the Americans fear that Russia is winning it. In present circumstances the Western nations in the Atlantic Pact seem to have reached the peak of their military strength: Congress is reluctant to increase American expenditure; the European partners feel they can devote no more of their national resources to armament without endangering their convalescent economies. By 1953, the Americans estimate, Russia will be so far superior in force as to be able to undertake a strong adventurous diplomacy in Europe and probably elsewhere which the Atlantic powers will have no means of countering. The purpose of the conference, then, was to stop the backsliders—mainly by mobilizing greater military resources more swiftly than the Soviet bloc can.

The first decision the London conference seems to have reached, without saying it in so many words, was not to scatter its force: the Western powers will concentrate their strength in Europe to the detriment, if need be, of their position in Asia. The Asiatic situation was discussed for part of one day in ten days of talks. A communiqué smiled upon the independent and semi-independent states of Southeast Asia now torn by Communist rebellions, but no positive plan for any concrete integrated action in that area was apparently settled or even broached. Little attempt was made to formulate Western policy toward Asia at all, but from private conversations the tacitly agreed upon attitude appears to be this: The Western nations will continue to give to Southeast Asia moral support and material aid in quantities that will not affect their European effort, for they cannot afford to show lack of interest. However, should worst come to worst and the area fall to the Communists, the West is banking in the last resort on an epic outbreak of Titoism in the entire

area—a hope which, on the best British and American information from Asia, is by no means fantastic. In any case, the alternative to this seemingly defeatist policy is to scatter force and leave Western Europe too feeble to keep the Russians from the Atlantic seaboard for more than a few weeks.

The announcement in Paris before the London talks began that Secretary Acheson had agreed to give France material and financial aid against the Communists in Indo-China would seem to contradict the foregoing. In fact, France has repeatedly told the United States that the main reason it is unable to make a stronger effort in Europe is the Asiatic drain on its resources. Secretary Acheson's offer was thus not an act of policy in Asia but of policy in Europe—a kind of *quid pro quo* to induce France to play a more active role in the West. It is probably not a coincidence that three days after Acheson's offer, M. Schuman announced his dramatic proposal to bring French and German heavy industry under single control, answering one of the State Department's most urgent and frequently expressed wishes.

The central purpose of the London talks, then, was to find means to build, rapidly, a strong armed force in Europe. Three means were suggested and discussed. First, to make a revolutionary alteration in organization. Instead of each partner having its own balanced national armed force, there would be created a collectively balanced force for all. To oversimplify, France, Holland, and Belgium, say, would concentrate on building a land force with virtually no air force or navy; Britain would concentrate on a short-range bomber force with a small navy; and America would concentrate on building the long-range bomber force and navy for all the powers, expending little on its land force. If this kind of specialization could be carried out, the Atlantic powers would get much more than at present from each dollar spent.

Carrying out a radical integration of this nature raises a thousand thorny day-to-day problems which cannot be saved up and settled by Foreign Ministers meeting once a year. So the second part of the plan was to set up a council of the twelve nations, sitting permanently in London, with power to make decisions on the spot and keep the plan rolling toward realization.

The third part, though again it was never expressed so bluntly, was to add a new thus far barely utilized reservoir of strength to the pool, namely, Western Germany. Though only half a country at present, the West German state with its fifty million citizens is the most populous nation and has the strongest industrial potential of all the West European countries. The concept has been accepted by the diplomats of the West—if they still do not feel able to utter it until, like General Clay, they have retired from public life—that in one way or another the might of Germany must be added to that of the Atlantic Pact nations. Even if



Curry, courtesy *Franc-Tireur*

Foreign Minister Schuman

Germany is not to be allowed to rearm and make armaments itself, its industry must at least be used to supply the other nations with normal industrial goods so that they can release more sources for arms.

If these three things could be done—a collective force created, its realization spurred constantly by a permanent "cabinet," and Germany's great resources added to those of the rest—armed strength in the West would certainly increase tremendously,

and the London conference would deserve a good paragraph in history.

How close the ministers came to these objectives is exceedingly hard to determine. Their final communiqué announced that they had agreed "unanimously" to create the projected collectively balanced force. However, a column-and-a-half lead editorial in the *London Times*, which is kept very intimately informed by the British Foreign Office, said otherwise the following day. "Plainly, if it were possible," the *Times* said of the plan to integrate, "the result would be more efficient and more economical. Unfortunately it is not possible."

The *Times* editorial, presumably expressing the view of the Foreign Office, indicates that the conference merely agreed in principle that integration would be a good idea if it could be carried out. But powerful reasons of national sentiment and psychology work against it. Britain, for example, would find it exceedingly hard to abandon the role of a great naval power in order to concentrate on building jet planes. None of the smaller nations can bury the fear that it might somehow be cut off from its allies, whereupon its having concentrated on building a land force without air force or navy might spell disaster.

The conference, then, left the plan to integrate diplomatically vague. Its future depends on whether the timid or the bold dominate future negotiations. This lends an especial importance to the second part of the plan: the ministers did agree to set up their permanent council of twelve in London to try for integration, with an American chairman at its head. The fate of integration, it seems, will depend almost entirely on the personality and tact of the individual President Truman appoints to this post.

The only really dramatic feature of the conference was connected with the third part of the plan. The integration of Germany into the Western community, there is reason to believe, had first priority among the objectives of Secretary Acheson when he arrived. His speech to the Pilgrims' Society in London the day after his arrival was devoted almost entirely to the necessity of this step. But before the conference opened it also seemed like the least possible to attain of all his objectives. M. Schuman's proposal to integrate German and French heavy industry, with his invitation to any other powers to join who wished to, dramatically altered the picture. As a result, the German problem barely figured in the agenda of the talks, for the ministers chose to leave it what it had so promisingly become—a matter for purely French and German initiative. If the project succeeds on that level, the greatest obstacle to an all West European integration will have been removed, and the other members of the council may be able to move in.

In general, the London conference decided very little. It opened many outer doors of sovereign houses to permit peoples to go outside and build a new, stouter common structure. Whether the London talks have been a success or a failure will only become apparent in time. It will depend largely on the ability of two men—French Foreign Minister Schuman and the American who will be appointed chief of the new council—to induce the peoples to follow them away from the inadequate but familiar and habitual protections of national sovereignty and toward a new, untried, and daring project of cooperative living.

BESIDE THE POINT

HAVING managed to produce a little rain in the Catskill Mountains, Dr. Wallace E. Howell, New York City's rainmaker, has now found it necessary to disavow all the other rain, not to mention the mist, fog, and cold, that has plagued the metropolitan area during the alleged spring. So many letters came into the Department of Water Supply complaining about the weather and blaming it on Dr. Howell that he and Eugene Christie, chief Weather Bureau meteorologist, felt constrained to hold a press conference the other week at which Dr. Howell denied everything. As a headline put it: "Rainmaker Says Bad Weather Is Nature's and Not His."

Dr. Howell has started something. If this business of rainmaking spreads, we'll be seeing credit lines on clouds—and public notices in local papers reading as follows:

(From the Pittstown Herald)

I was not responsible for the rain which spoiled the outing of the Women's Auxiliary of the Sons of Seneca at Gruber's Grove on Saturday last. If the ladies who have been writing me threatening letters and setting

their children on mine will take the trouble to investigate, they will find that I was at the other end of the county that day trying to save Jim Martin's stand of corn which has been suffering from the recent dry spell.
—J. E. Cloudburst, Rainmaker.

(From the Hittsville Bugle)

The malicious report that I brought on the bad weather on the day of the Methodist picnic is absolutely false. The fact that I am a Presbyterian has nothing to do with the case.—R. M. Flood, R. M.

The weather will get into politics, and we may see Presidential campaigns fought out on the issue of whether the rain that drowned out the World Series was caused by Republicans or Democrats. And we tremble to think what the Never-Dies Committee will make of those "fronts" that are always referred to in weather reports—the cold front, the warm front, the stationary front, and, most suspicious of all, the occluded front. The danger is, of course, that some demagogue of the left or right will get hold of the cloud-seeding apparatus and, raising the old slogan, *Après moi, le déluge*, institute a rain of terror which will wash out the basic American right to watch parades and litter up the public beaches on Sundays. Meanwhile, weather predictions will be bought and sold like grain futures, speculation will run riot, and we'll wind up in what the Weather Bureau would call a "low-pressure trough" that will make 1933 look like a bright spring day. Eventually the question whether the weather should be publicly managed or left to the devices of private enterprise will split the electorate. Truman will stump the country advocating a Fair Weather Deal. (A Republican rainmaker following his course in an airplane will attempt to provoke a downpour at every whistle stop.) And the high command of the G. O. P. will as usual be hopelessly divided, unable to decide whether to declare flatly for a return to the old-fashioned weather that made this country great or adopt a me-too policy of coming in when it rains.

✱

WHAT FOUNDATION D'YE BLEED?

With institutes, funds, and foundations
Underwriting original creations,
Providing the gravel
For research and travel
And the study of human relations;
With awards, prizes, subsidies rolling in
From Guggenheim, Fulbright, and Bollingen,
Whoever seizes
A project that pleases
Can be sure of an income for lolling in.
The trick is to pick, for your sally,
A theme that will make Fulbright rally,
Fit the Guggenheim groove,
Or happily prove
To be straight up the Bollingen alley.

M. M.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

COMMENCEMENT

Through elm and maple and syringa branches
the almost-summer sunlight fills the air—
so bright itself, it blurs, it rims with brilliance
all Franklin Square.

The school's a tabernacle, gilded, holy,
half-seen through the long tunnel of the trees:
the light, like honey, warm and melting, covers
our indolent ease.

Half-seen, a valedictory group of schoolgirls—
upon them, casual shadow, casual light
falling like prophecy, like revelation,
bewildering sight

in the moment before the moment of perception—
so we must turn, our eyelids heavy with sun,
to look at them, potential, undetermined,
until one

moves away from the others, with no backward
turning or glance, moves from the chequered shade
into the light, so swiftly, singly, surely,
we are almost afraid

to take our eyes from her, from the self emerging
here on a May day noon, in the golden square—
and the other figures, when we look behind her,
vanished in air.

CONSTANCE CARRIER

THE RIDDLES OF FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT

ROOSEVELT IN RETROSPECT. By
John Gunther. Harper and Brothers.
\$3.75.

JOHN GUNTHER calls his new Roosevelt book both a "profile" and a "summary." It also is a compilation to about a third of its length, composed in the now established Gunther technique, of an impressive assortment of details, some of facts important and trivial, some of ideas deliberately artless and penetrating. Thus the Roosevelt story has been accorded the treatment of the notable "Inside" works that have given Mr. Gunther a unique place in political journalism. It need not be debated whether this treatment assures a satisfactory biography; it does not. Mr. Roosevelt was both too complex and too paradoxical to be il-

luminated by a catalogue of his contradictions and questions about his qualities. He needs the synthesis of a great interpretative biography, operating like a shaft of light that reveals unity formed out of disunity and harmony underlying discord. Mr. Gunther has not undertaken to write this biography. It is not his method or his art. He is a compiler, as was Mr. Sandburg writing about Lincoln. He does not go in for the portraiture that grows out of selection, that is, the suppression of detail. He must note everything, stop and conjecture about everything, delight in everything, and both marvel and cavit.

All this makes a book that is informative, entertaining, and in this case also important, and because Mr. Gunther is an indefatigable gatherer of detail, a book that is fresh even in the familiar

field of Rooseveltiana. But Mr. Gunther has not departed from his established formula. He writes about F. D. R. as he writes about a continent. But since F. D. R. was not a continent, it is clear that Mr. Gunther does not write about him *because* he understands him and feels compelled to share his understanding. He is searching, and we share his search. Mr. Roosevelt will remain one of the most difficult men of destiny to understand. But sooner or later someone will write *as though* he understood him, and a true biography will result.

What Mr. Gunther's book does suggest, though somewhat faintly, is that understanding Mr. Roosevelt is impossible without understanding first the greatness of the era in which he became the most notable world figure. We still are too close to that era to see its dimensions. The depression and America's rescue from it are only a minor part of the drama. The coming war is a larger part; and then the war itself, with its now forgotten dangers and its now unappreciated victory, forms the stupendous climax. What is mysterious about Mr. Roosevelt's career is that he went through each of these phases, not as an intellectual leader who had mastered in advance the requirements of each, but as a political leader who had to come to grips with the problems as they grew acute, and did so groping his way, and only in time became master of events. He conquered the depression not with mind but with spirit. He was slow and tardy in feeling the rising peril of Nazi and Japanese ambition. And once the war was on, he was to lead the country through two years of mortifying defeat and impotence. But in each phase he rallied the forces that came into dominance. Only when a future generation is able to appraise the full nature of the tragic conflict of the era will Mr. Roosevelt's title to historic rank be clear. Mr. Gunther has moments when he is caught up by the forces of the time and feels their overwhelming power both for success or failure. But he does not let himself go in for re-creating this time, and failing to do so he fails to assign Mr. Roose-

velt to his final rank. He believes he knows what the rank is, and suggests it persistently by his device of compilation and questioning. But not being ready to write the history of the Roosevelt era in its titanic perspective, he is unable to make Mr. Roosevelt a Titan.

Whatever else can be said about Mr. Roosevelt, he will count in the end for a series of achievements in all of which he began as a novice and then, by his phenomenal political talents, ended as architect and builder—and one who finished what he built. The one exception appears to be in regard to the peace. This he did not complete, and no political heir has had the vision and the power to complete it. Now, because he did not live to build the peace, some of his contemporaries hold it against him, as though it was due to a shortcoming in his nature and genius. And in this view, because men have forgotten the dire perils they were in during World War II, and how near they came to defeat and how dramatic were the developments that staved it off, the victory passes as of minor moment and with it the leadership of Mr. Roosevelt. Mr. Gunther might have expended some of his indubitable gifts in drawing with greater attention the backdrop before which F. D. R. was to act, and thus have established his stature. But though he knows quite well what the stature was, he only affirms it, and does not measure it with the arts of creative writing.

It surely is somewhat unfair to a man who has written a really good book to chide him for not writing a better one. Mr. Gunther may simply have lacked the time—the years—to have tackled the better one. What he has given lies within his quite generous means. He has produced the best new work on Mr. Roosevelt I have seen (excepting Sherwood's, which is also about Hopkins). It is highly readable, arresting, sometimes annoyingly naive, but always disarmingly honest and scrupulously fair. A future writer who is to attempt true portraiture will find postulated in this book all the riddles of which Mr. Roosevelt's complicated nature was made. But unless F. D. R. is to remain for all time simply a beloved but bewildering paradox, Mr. Gunther has provided only a sourcebook, albeit one of warmth, candor, and devotion.

RAYMOND SWING

Beyond the Curtain

EAST OF THE IRON CURTAIN. By Vernon Bartlett. Medill McBride and Company. \$2.75.

THE CURTAIN ISN'T IRON. By Joseph C. Harsch. Doubleday and Company. \$2.

AFTER Stalin rang down the curtain, Winston Churchill did him the service of describing it as being made of impenetrable stuff, and this has discouraged many people on our side from trying to see through it. But here are two reporters who have not let iron bar their way, and they return from eastward penetrations that took them not only into alien sights but deep into minds that have grown remote.

Vernon Bartlett, the English veteran of three decades of service, had traversed this East European ground many times before; what he offers now is no wide-eyed Baedeker to odd landscapes and political hot spots but rather a terse commentary on underlying changes in the area—many of them ugly, most of them harsh, and yet some of them a good deal more complex than we in our wholesale anger tend to assume from a distance.

Joseph Harsch, the young American of the *Christian Science Monitor*, also knows the region well, and besides approaches it with a historical sense such as few of our roving reporters find time to cultivate. He, too, while registering distaste and often repulsion, looks under the police-state mantles and finds more things than are dreamt of in Senator McCarthy's philosophy.

The entrance into the Communist East, for Bartlett, was unpleasant: at the border his baggage was examined for "dangerous or forbidden literature." The country was Yugoslavia—a heretic against Moscow, but otherwise orthodox in its use of secret police, its thought control, its uniformed shock brigades of girl workers, its red-backed slogans, and its dun-colored drabness. Yet, while one could pause to generalize on the stigmata of Marxism-Leninism in action, the next thing one noticed as one penetrated deeper was the extraordinary variety of the outcome, country by country. There was dramatic contrast between austere, muscular, enthusiastic Yugoslavia, spy-ridden but fighting

Selected for "NATION" Readers

AMERICAN LABOR LEADERS

Personalities and Forces in the Labor Movement

By Charles A. Madison, Author of "Critics and Crusaders"

What kind of people are the labor headlines? "Mr. Madison's book enables one to see the development of unionism in terms of a key instrument through which all trade unions have to operate—their leaders . . . well-written, interesting and thought-provoking."—*Sumner H. Slichter*, Harvard University. \$4.00

UNIONS BEFORE THE BAR

Historic Trials Showing the Evolution of Labor Rights in the United States

By Elias Lieberman, Author of "The Collective Labor Agreement"

" . . . a useful and exciting account of the leading courtroom battles in the history of American labor-management relations . . . indispensable for every student of labor problems, whether his approach is legal, economic or sociological."—*New York Times Book Review*. \$5.00

STEELTOWN

An Industrial Case History of the Conflict Between Progress and Security

By Charles R. Walker, Yale Labor and Management Center

A significant on-the-spot study of what happens to a community when its major industry shuts up and moves away. "No one who is concerned with the question of labor-management relations can afford not to read it."—*Russell W. Davenport*, *FORTUNE*. \$4.50

AT YOUR BOOKSTORE OR FROM

HARPER & BROTHERS

49 East 33rd Street
New York 16, N. Y.

tenaciously for its national integrity, and backward, slatternly Rumania and Bulgaria, sold out to Moscow stooges. There were oddities along the way: in Hungry wholesale war on the church; in Poland masses of churchgoing Communists; and in Bulgaria a system whereby the Communist state grants subsidies to the church, approving clerical appointments through the agency—appropriately enough—of the Foreign Office.

Communist Hungary, as Bartlett saw it last year, was ample, confused, and still romantic: well-dressed women

mingled in Budapest with Stakhanovite workers, and middle-class student converts to Leninism shared the eagerness of the small peasants to have done with the kulaks. But once-advanced Czechoslovakia had become Europe's most depressed area, cowed and lifeless. "Her soul may be western," Harsch adds in agreement, "but, like the mudfish, she waits passively for a turn of the tide to restore her to her natural element, meanwhile casting shy and wistful glances toward sturdier Yugoslavia." Poland, on the other hand, although outwardly submissive to its Moscow masters, was ambitiously resurgent as a nation prospering from new lands and industries, and on the caps of its soldiers one found the Polish eagle rather than the conventional red star.

From all this Bartlett draws the lesson of diversity even under a total gospel, and asks us not to lump together all the hundred million citizens of the area fronting on Russia and write them off as lost souls. Harsch goes farther: he sees in this very diversity the prophecy of hope for our side, and of eventual dissolution for the Soviet order. He likens Soviet Russia to the classic church-state, incurably wedded to a rigid dogma that becomes weaker and more corrupt as it reaches the periphery, where currents of regional differentiation, pride, and heresy inevitably start the whole overweening structure crumbling. Titoism, then, is the Protestantism of the Marxist world, preaching a return to the true Word while it tries to break out nationally on its own.

The important thing, as both men see it, is that we should not let our dislike of Marxism as a whole lead us into underrating or discouraging these divisive currents—for all are directed against the dark monopoly of Moscow. Neither, in our discomfiture at the collapse of the capitalist order in the satellite regions—thin and unstable as it was—should we mistake the roots which give the new regimes strength. We do not help our side by describing these simply as the fruits of malevolent plots and minority conspiracies. True, there have been conspiracies a-plenty, and the East European Communist device of first obtaining control of the Ministry of the Interior in a "coalition" Cabinet—and then through the Ministry of the Interior controlling the police and thereby the

state—has now become classic. But the fact remains that these regimes, policemen and all, have had more popular backing than we sometimes like to admit. Bartlett and Harsch both argue that what has given them their strength is not so much their communism as the fact that they have undertaken house-keeping jobs and social reforms that in many cases were long overdue.

We know—and many of their own people now know—that far too high a price in terms of personal liberties was paid for these reforms. Yet, as Harsch points out, those peoples don't want to be liberated from those reforms, even so. Certainly they show few signs of wanting to turn back to their leaders of yesteryear. What they might become attracted to before long is the idea of reform plus liberty—that is, if the democratic West forthrightly demonstrates it. Two nations right in their own belt have been demonstrating it quietly for some time, and thereby giving an example which is highly disconcerting to Moscow. Both Bartlett and Harsch dwell with first-hand fervor on the achievement of Austria and Finland, two small, weak, exposed states which nevertheless through their own social strength and progressiveness have discouraged Communists from trying to subvert them. If isolated Austria and battered Finland can stand fast, what is there that we, with our massed strength and belief, cannot do?

Both books—Bartlett's the more discursive, Harsch's always taut, compact, tractarian—lead up to this challenge, and hurl it in such a way that it cannot be escaped. WILLIAM HARLAN HALE

A New Utopia

CHARLES DICKENS AND EARLY VICTORIAN ENGLAND. By R. J. Cruikshank. Chanticleer Press. \$4.50.

THE English appear to be busy these days revisiting their Victorian grandfathers and polishing up the tarnished reputations of the age of Peel, Palmerston, Disraeli, and Gladstone. Mr. Cruikshank, a London editor and journalist, is quite frankly a sentimental traveler among the ancient great.

His book is not intellectual history. And yet the intellectual background is always competently there; so that the

HELP WANTED

To Avert World War III To Build an Enduring Peace

"If the peoples of the world with one united voice demand world unity and peace, they will get it. It is the duty of every person of intelligence and good-will to support one or the other of these international organizations."

From the article, "Is Peace Still Possible?" by John Boyd Orr, The Nation April 8, 1960.

THE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM is one of the organizations Lord Boyd Orr made reference to. Its record for the past 35 years has been one of creative trail-blazing in seeking non-violent means for the establishment of those political, economic, and psychological conditions which can assure both universal peace and freedom.

MALE HELP WANTED

Men with vision and the courage of their convictions who believe, as did Jane Addams, the first president of WILPF, that people are not obliged to choose between violence and passive acceptance of unjust conditions for themselves or for others, but that moral courage and active good will achieve more than violence.

Men who refuse to accept as inevitable the sacrifice of their sons, who believe that international tensions can be relieved before they become international crises, and who will leave no stone unturned in the pursuit of that principle. Of such men we ask moral and financial support.

FEMALE HELP WANTED

An opportunity for women with a pioneering spirit to heal a sick world. Great numbers of women are needed. By joining the WILPF you are dedicated to active cooperative fellowship with members of 40 nations of the world, you join an organization of informed, competent women who have earned Consultative Status with the U. N., who play an active role in shaping policy in Washington, two of whose presidents have been recipients of the Nobel Peace Prize. It offers a means of working toward liberation from national, class, and racial prejudice, toward the elimination of power politics, imperialism and economic exploitation.

- ☐ I want to Join the WILPF
- ☐ I want to contribute to the work of WILPF
- ☐ I want more information about the WILPF

Name

Address

City State

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL
LEAGUE FOR PEACE
AND FREEDOM

2006 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

reader feels the presence of the important Victorian questions of Darwinism, high-churchism, progress, social reform, agnosticism, and so on. Mr. Cruikshank's sense of the connection of these great issues with the social panorama he very fascinatingly depicts saves the book from being the merely shapeless "objective" volume that journalists turned historians often produce. True, the book wanders about a good deal between the novels of Dickens, of which no sustained critical account is given or intended, and the English scene—the mines, the railways, the Crystal Palace, the mills, the pubs, the theaters and music halls, the gin shops, the study of the troubled clergyman about to go over to Rome, the estates of the landed gentry, Parliament. And then back to Dickens again, or on to a thumbnail sketch of Bentham or Florence Nightingale or Kay-Shuttleworth, the educator. But the total effect is a kind of generous coherence which helps to make the volume both entertaining and instructive.

"Charles Dickens and Early Victorian England" is very full of facts about the period; there is even a helpful series of tables and graphs in an appendix. The author makes no attempt to suppress the details of the notorious squalor and inhumanity of early nineteenth-century British industrialism. Though he defends many Victorian reputations that can stand defending, he also draws up an impressive indictment of the Victorians for having bequeathed to twentieth-century Englishmen the "hideous sprawl" of the cities, an impoverished soil, a monumental complacency and callousness, and "that meanest of British vices, social, intellectual, and spiritual snobbery." Nevertheless, he succeeds finally in nothing so well as in conveying to us his feeling that Victorian England was a Golden Age whose power the citizens of drab and energyless Socialist England can only hope to recapture. And it is a question of power for Mr. Cruikshank. Modern Britain does not need the ideas and morals of the Victorians but rather the sheer energy, the brilliant strength, that organized and constructed railway systems as well as systems of philosophy and aesthetics, the ready exercise of

will, the unquestioned belief in the destiny of England.

Now a man who unites ideas of power with a wish-fulfilling vision of the past is likely to be something of a myth-maker, and Mr. Cruikshank is. Perhaps it is with the brief and expert portrait of Bentham that we begin to have the sense that the Victorians are all as grand as Zeus or at least, since many are undeniably ugly, Hephaestus. Bentham we behold as a talkative old gentleman one might meet in a railway coach. He talks endlessly and brilliantly about progress. "There is no break in the linked logic"; yet suddenly one realizes that the fellow is divinely mad, that he has a "shining veil of lunacy." Cobbett we discover as a proletarian Titan striding as fast as the wind itself and "outlined against the bare sky on the upheaved shoulder of the Sussex Downs." Even Betty Harris, age thirty-seven, that well-known figure in Victorian social history, becomes somehow a grand image of Britannia as on all fours she hauls a sledge of coal through a tunnel far underground and remarks to us from her lithograph that "the belt and chain is worse when we are in a family way."

Mr. Cruikshank is not politically reactionary. He is, as I take it, in general sympathy with the aims of democratic socialism. He recommends not the policies of the Victorians but only the high energy and indestructible resolve which put these policies into practice. I should only be afraid, then, that the modern Englishman might find Mr. Cruikshank's archaic Utopia so ravishing that all other worlds would seem unbearable.

RICHARD CHASE

Books in Brief

LINCOLN COLLECTOR. By Carl Sandburg. Harcourt, Brace. \$7.50. A heterogeneous volume of documents from the collection of Oliver R. Barrett, including letters by and about Lincoln, his family and his friends. Reading it is like going through the jumbled contents of an old desk; there is no great discovery but somehow the period comes quite magically to life.

THEREBY HANGS A TALE. By Charles Earle Funk. Harper. \$3.50. Al-

Does it pay to go to College?

THE MARKET FOR COLLEGE GRADUATES

By SEYMOUR E. HARRIS

BY 1969 there will be two or three college graduates for every job they are ready for. Squarely facing this unpleasant prospect, Mr. Harris provides the facts, sounds a warning, and proposes concrete plans for avoiding the bitter burden that such a situation could bring about. Essential reading for parents, students and educators.



\$4.00 at all bookstores, or

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

THE Transcendentalists

An Anthology

EDITED BY PERRY MILLER

EDITED with wit and perception, the story of the Transcendental Movement—the circle of Emerson and Thoreau—is here told in an anthology of articles, essays, poems, and addresses of the group around these two great artists. Here Margaret Fuller, Orestes Brownson, George Ripley, Bronson Alcott, William Ellery Channing, and many more speak the protests which made the first of a succession of notable revolts by the youth of America against American Philistinism. 521 pages. \$6.50

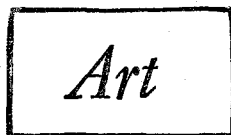


At all bookstores, or

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

phabetically arranged histories of curious word origins, from *Abet* which comes from bear-baiting and was the Old Norse equivalent of "sic 'em," to *Yankee*, which probably derives from "Jan Kaas," an ancient nickname for a Dutchman, hence applied to Dutch freebooters, and then shifted, by a natural transition, to designate the inhabitants of the Wooden Nutmeg State. Recommended to everyone interested in the color and background of words.

THE CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA, 1861-1865. By E. Merton Coulter. Louisiana State University. \$7. This seventh volume of "A History of the South" ignores the fighting and concentrates on presenting a well-rounded and extremely interesting political and social history of the Confederate States during the war.



WELDON
KEES

BRADLEY WALKER TOMLIN is the most recent convert to a manner of painting for which we still have no satisfactory name—a matter of more concern as yet to the artists responsible for it than anyone else—and which is marked by a free, imaginative, and highly personal non-objectivism that has little to do with the rigidities and orthodoxies of the official non-objectivist ranks. In his recent show at Betty Parsons Gallery, Tomlin, who formerly worked impeccably and gracefully in the cubist tradition, now covers his canvases with swirling calligraphy and dripping

paint that become symbols of tension and discord at the same time that they act, in their totality, as achievements of order and grace. Tomlin's emotions and sense of an entire world are much more in evidence now, it strikes me, than heretofore, yet his old aloofness is still making itself felt. But we can stand, I think, a degree of aloofness, not a very common quality these days, particularly when it is as stunningly embodied as it is in such a painting as Tomlin's large Number 20, one of the most soundly constructed and elegant canvases to be seen this season.

One gets tired of saying, in the event of a major change in a painter's direction, that it marks an "advance" (a "great advance," an "inspired advance," a "noteworthy advance," a "bold advance," and so on), or of particularizing any one of a variety of retreats, modifications, or sidesteps; and I shall spare Tomlin the weariness of being poked into one of these always available pigeonholes. But it is dispiriting to find all the critical notices I have seen on Tomlin's show working overtime in questioning his altered manner, studded with terms such as "debatable direction" and "experimentation" that suggest heads shaken in dismay. The middle-ground critic used to have a sizable stable of tasteful middle-ground painters in whose company he felt comfortable and assured; now there are not so many to provide comfort and assurance, and they are growing fewer. There is the avant-garde, and there is the great glowering world of the Academy.

FOR YEARS the Metropolitan Museum has been under attack for its lack of interest in contemporary art. Its cushy

Hearn fund, bequeathed to it generations ago for purchasing work by living American artists, has been left in the vaults, most of it, and what little has been touched has been spent for paintings that might as well have been chosen by a committee of Congressmen or the ladies of the Elkhart Bide-a-Wee.

The present director of the Metropolitan, Francis Henry Taylor, makes no secret of his hostility to advanced trends in contemporary art—he has reached some sort of high in philistinism, where competition is keen, when he compared Picasso's *Guernica* to "The Charge of the Light Brigade" and remarked that Picasso "has only substituted Gertrude Stein for Florence Nightingale." Recently, the cries of discontent at the Museum's policies have become louder; several influential voices have made themselves heard, among them that of James N. Rosenberg, a Museum member and New York lawyer, who not long ago wrote a series of sharp and high-flavored letters which must have been embarrassing even to the elephant-hided Mr. Taylor. Whether knuckling under to such pressures or acting for its own mysterious reasons, the Metropolitan has suddenly become a beehive of activity directed at "recognizing" and "supporting" American art of the present. In a few weeks it promises to open an exhibition of twentieth-century paintings from its own collection—a collection hastily reinforced in the last few months by a spree of apparently frantic buying in an attempt to fill up the gaping holes so long in evidence. This show, says the Museum, will "remove certain misconceptions in the critical and public mind which for one reason or another have arisen in recent years." I wonder.

In addition to its long-delayed purchasing binge, the Metropolitan has announced a jumbo national competitive exhibition, "American Painting Today—1950," to be chosen by a number of regional juries, with prizes totaling \$8,500. Already, across the nation, painters' mouths are watering. The general idea suggests another proportional-representation show of the Pepsi-Cola variety; the list of the jurors—almost a solid phalanx of such academics as Jerry Bywaters, Everett Spruce, Lamar Dodd, Leon Kroll, Paul Sample,

CURRENT ART EXHIBITS

PAINTINGS AND SCULPTURE, 1949-1950

A survey of the season of new
unities and relationships.

Thru June 18

BETTY PARSONS GALLERY, 15 East 57th Street

PRIZE DESIGNS FOR MODERN FURNITURE

from international competition, thru July 16;
Exhibition House in Garden thru October 29;
Museum's 1st exhibition of all-color photography,
thru June 25; work by parents and young children
opens June 7.

MUSEUM OF MODERN ART, 11 West 53rd Street

WELDON KEES' art column will not appear during the summer months. Early in November, *The Nation* will again publish Mr. Kees' reports of outstanding exhibits in New York as well as comments on news, activities and trends in the world of art.

Become an associate of the National Serigraph Society and choose your original gift print from the current exhibition.

NEW SERIGRAPHS—1950

SERIGRAPH GALLERIES, 38 West 57th St., N. Y. C.
CI 5-8936 Write for membership brochure.

CHESSMEN. A selection from the collection of over 170 chess sets and boards recently given to the Museum by Gustavus A. Pfeiffer. On view Wednesdays through Sundays.

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART
Fifth Avenue at 82nd Street

First American Show

FRANCISCO TORTOSA

(75-year-old Spanish refugee) "Greatest primitive since Rousseau." Continuing thru June.

TRIBUNE SUBWAY GALLERY, 100 West 42nd St.
(IND Subway Arcade) WI 7-4893

Franklin C. Watkins, etc., etc.—suggests not eclecticism or proportional representation but entrenched timidity and conservatism of the purest ray serene. It has been suggested that this jury "may surprise us" by picking an adventurous and valuable show. I look forward to this with the same warm expectations that I have of the American Legion building a series of marble shrines honoring the memory of Randolph Bourne or of Baudelaire being voted the favorite poet of the Cicero, Illinois, junior high schools. Preparations for this endeavor have been under way for "nearly a year," says the Metropolitan; it is clear that the selection of a jury as humdrum as this must easily have consumed that long a period of time.

The following letter, which I was pleased to sign, was addressed to Roland L. Redmond, president of the Metropolitan, and recently made public. It bore the signatures of eighteen painters—among them such distinguished and prominent artists as Jackson Pollock, Hans Hofmann, Adolph Gottlieb, Robert Motherwell, William de Kooning, William Bazotes, Ad Reinhardt, and Mark Rothko; they speak, I should guess, for a considerable number of other artists.

[We] reject the monster national exhibition to be held at the Metropolitan Museum of Art next December, and will not submit work to its jury.

The organization of the exhibition and the choice of jurors by Francis Henry Taylor and Robert Beverly Hale, the Metropolitan's Director and the Associate Curator of American Art, does not warrant any hope that a just proportion of advanced art will be included.

We draw to the attention of those gentlemen the historical fact that, for roughly a hundred years, only advanced art has made any consequential contribution to civilization.

Mr. Taylor, on more than one occasion, has publicly declared his contempt for modern painting; Mr. Hale, in accepting a jury notoriously hostile to advanced art, takes his place beside Mr. Taylor.

We believe that all the advanced artists of America will join us in our stand.

For the first time, avant-garde painters in this country have taken a united position against the Academy; this is their historical role; the Academy itself drew the lines.

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

MUCH of the discussion of Menotti's "The Consul" has been concerned with this "musical drama," as he calls it, being not an opera but in fact a new kind of musical drama; and its new form has been thought to account for its unprecedented popular success. But I would say that whatever the reasons for its popular success there is nothing new about its form. Opera is musical drama; and Menotti's musical drama is an opera. It is a modern opera, which carries the continuous action and dialogue in continuous orchestra-supported declamation and recitative to points where action stops for emotional expansion in the extended melody of aria, duet, or some other concerted number. And the orchestra-supported declamation and recitative are in a skillfully contrived modern style; but—and this was for me the most striking fact about the work as I listened to it—the melody which takes off at the momentary climax of the action to expand this climax relapses into the mellifluous pre-modern style which is apparently the one melodic style Menotti has for all expressive requirements, and which is inadequate for these requirements—shockingly inadequate for something like "To this we've come." The facile third-rate tunefulness seemed to me even worse this time than in previous works; the eclecticism this time reached the point of producing—in the Italian woman's lament over her *bambina*—not just something reminiscent of a Puccini aria but something which is a Puccini aria complete even to the last orchestral detail. This column's award for the understatement of the year goes, therefore, to Virgil Thomson for the observation that "The Consul" is "Melodically . . . a shade undistinguished."

The music, then, is of a kind to satisfy and please the listener who is satisfied and pleased by Puccini in the opera house, and also the members of the wider public in the Barrymore Theater; and it is therefore one of the reasons for the success of the work. But the chief reason for this success, in my opinion, is the dramatic idea, which

powerfully engages the audience's interest and emotions as it is spaced out and filled out in time by the activity of the music (in place of the words and incidents that would space and fill it out in a spoken play). So powerfully in fact as to mislead the audience into

BOOKS OF ALL KINDS FROM THE USSR
Just Arrived! **BORIS POLEVOY**
WE ARE SOVIET PEOPLE
Short Stories. Winner Stalin Prize 1948. Illustrated
In English — 590 pp. — \$1.50
Latest Soviet Records, Sheet Music, Handicrafts
1950 Subscriptions Open for Soviet Periodicals
Ask for Complete Catalogue "P-50"
FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
55 W. 56 Street, N. Y. 19 Murray Hill 8-2660

Carnegie Press, Inc.

★ SPECIALIZING IN PRINTING
FOR NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATIONS

Cortlandt 7-2448-9

104-110 GREENE STREET, N. Y. C. 12

WANTED!

WORLD DEMOCRATS

who want to

STOP WAR!

\$1-a-year men and women willing and able
to devote a good deal of time in whatever
capacity they possess. Non-totalitarian.

COMMITTEE FOR WORLD DEMOCRACY

Box A c/o The Nation

June Sale

- All records reduced **25% to 70%** including all our LPs and imported records.
 - Big new shipments of imported records coming in weekly.
 - Books on music reduced 25%, including works by Tovey, Haggin, and others. For mail orders add 15¢ postage per record, 50¢ minimum. 78 RPM records may be shipped express charges collect.
- New catalog of imported records in preparation, 10¢. Subscribe to "Just Records," \$1.50 per year; latest "double issue," 50¢.
LP catalog, 15¢

ELAINE MUSIC SHOP

9 EAST 44th STREET New York City 17
bet. Fifth and Madison Murray Hill 2-6154

PULITZER PRIZE and CRITICS' AWARD

RICHARD RODGERS & OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd

present in association with

LELAND HAYWARD & JOSHUA LOGAN

MARY MARTIN
RAY MIDDLETON

IN
South Pacific

Music by **RICHARD RODGERS**

Lyrics by **OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd**

Book by

OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd & JOSHUA LOGAN

Adapted from JAMES A. MICHENER'S Pulitzer

Prize Winning "TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC"

Directed by **JOSHUA LOGAN**

Scenery & Lighting by **Jo Mielzinee**

with **MYRON MCCORMICK**

MAJESTIC, 44 St. W. of B'way • Air-Cond.

Evenings 8:25. Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:25

RESORTS

ENJOY 64 MILLION SQ. FEET
OF SPRING...



(Private Golf Course)
the GLENMERE, Chester, N. Y.
PHONES: CHESTER 200 N. Y. RECTOR 2-5047

only 53 miles to



NEW WINDSOR, N. Y. NEWBURGH 4477
Informal colonial estate. Spacious grounds.
Private lake, Sports, Golf nearby. Tele-
vision, American-Jewish cuisine, Adults.
Reserve NOW for Your Summer Vacation

A "Forest-Farm-Lake-and-Mountain Paradise"



(Incorporated not-for-profit)
CONWAY, NEW HAMPSHIRE
274 acres, 2 lakes, trout stream, natural forests.
Free forum evenings, July-August. Music, games.
Swimming, boating, fishing, mountain climbing.
We welcome ALL races and faiths. Excursions.
Generously GOOD FOOD. Informal home atmosphere.
\$3.75-\$6.50 daily. (Lowest outside July-August)
FREE folder: photos, rates, transportation.



ON LONG LAKE, N. Y.
INFORMAL ADULT RESORT IN THE ADIRONDACKS
LIMITED TO 90 - 14-MILE LAKE
TENNIS • FISHING • GOLF • MOTOR BOATING
FOLLEN-FREE-CHAIRPS
Folk-Square Dances, Concert Trio, Lectures, Dance Band.
New York Office: 250 West 57th Street, Circle 6-6366
OPEN THRU SEPT. Louis A. Roth, Director

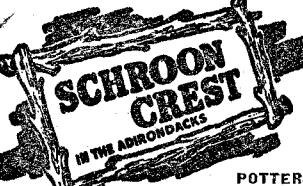


A CAMP FOR ADULTS
HIGHLAND LAKE STODDARD, N. H.
Where Interesting People Meet for the Perfect Vacation.
Enjoy beautiful Highland Lake 10 mi. long. All Land & Water
Sports, Square & Folk Dancing. 4 hrs. by train from N. Y.
Special Rate of \$45 for Opening Week, June 24-July 1
Regular Season Rates: \$55, \$60 & \$65 weekly
OLIVE "HATTIE" BARON, Director
Write Dept. N for literature • Phone Hancock 98 Ring 13

A LAKE RESORT FOR ADULTS
Heart of the Berkshires
Accommodates 35 3 hours New York
All Water Sports and Tennis Golf close by
Extensive Library of Classical LP Recordings
4 miles Tanglewood Music Festival
4 miles Berkshire Playhouse
10 miles Jacob's Pillow Dance Festival
Holiday Inn on Laurel Lake
LEE, MASS. Folder Phone: LEE 552
Summer Rates: \$50 to \$75 weekly, delicious meals incl.



OPEN ALL YEAR—FOR ADULTS
Formerly the palatial 592-acre Macy estate in the beau-
tiful "Hills of the Sky." Luxurious rooms, many with
open fireplaces. Delicious food. Walking, hiking. Mag-
nificent mountain trails. Swimming, golf, horseback
riding. Recordings, ping-pong, library, informal danc-
ing. Easy transportation. Attractive Summer Rates.
For reservations or booklet write or call
HATHAWAY LODGE, Haines Falls, N. Y.
Telephone Tannersville 299



"A
Resort
That Is
Different"

Informal
Camp for
Adults
POTTERSVILLE, N. Y.
ON SCHROON LAKE
OSCAR BRAND Famous Shoeless Troubadour
BOB ADLER & Resident Staff
Deluxe Cottages for Honey-mooners
Private Beach • Boating • Canoeing • Handball
Tennis • Bicycles • All Sports • Entertainment
Dancing • Bar • Fireplaces • Booklet
LOW JUNE RATES — FREE GOLF IN JUNE
N. Y. C. Office: 142 Montague St., Brooklyn 2, N. Y.
Phone: MAin 4-8570 or MAin 4-1230
LEAH OKUN, Director

ascribing to the trashy music the im-
pressive qualities it is being moved by
in the dramatic idea.

"The Consul," to sum up, is not a
new kind of musical drama which had
to be performed in a Broadway theater
instead of an opera house; it is an opera
which could have been performed in
the Metropolitan, and which would
have been as successful there as in the
Barrymore, but not for the reasons al-
leged by Winthrop Sargeant in his ar-
ticle in *Life*. Confirming the notions of
his *Life* readers with a picture of
"patient opera-goers" who "had almost
resigned themselves to the idea that
opera was a dead art form—something
that could be seen at its best only in
aged masterpieces ritualistically per-
formed in such museum-like institutions
as the Metropolitan," Sargeant had these
opera-goers beginning "to breathe more
easily" as they listened to "The Con-
sul," which he declared "undeniably
has all the attributes of a first-class
opera" and "meets the high-brow's
most exacting specifications." What
Sargeant pronounces undeniable I deny:
"The Consul" lacks the indispensable
attribute of a first-class opera—of works
like "Figaro," "Don Giovanni," "The
Barber of Seville," "Carmen," "Otello,"
"Falstaff," "Tristan," "Die Meister-
singer," "Boris Godunov," and other
"aged, ritualistically performed master-
pieces"—namely, first-class music. And
thus it fails to meet the most exacting
of the high-brow's specifications.

But producing "The Consul" as a
new kind of musical drama in the Bar-
rymore Theater had these important re-
sults: that the publicity material—about
its being a new form of musical drama
—appeared on the newspaper theater
pages; that it was reviewed—and de-
scribed as a new form of musical drama
—by the newspaper drama reporters;
that in these ways it was brought to the
attention of the wider public which
reads the theater page and drama re-
views and not the music page and music
reviews; and that its success, therefore,
was magnified enormously beyond what
it would have achieved if it had been
produced as an opera in the Metropoli-
tan. There comes to mind Professor
George F. Whicher's remark—in a re-
cent review—about "how much goes
into the making of an established poet
besides the mere writing of poetry."

RESORTS



WEST CORNWALL, CONNECTICUT
• A DELIGHTFUL ADULT RESORT •
All sports, including swimming, boating and
tennis. Social and folk dancing. Television.
Superb cuisine. Private cabins
facing the River.
HONEYMOON CABINS DELUXE
DIANA & ABE BERMAN Tel. Cornwall 89W3



35 MILES FROM NEW YORK CITY
"A Country Estate in the Scenic
Hills of Westchester County"
The nearest of all nearby resorts. Excellent
location. Luxuriously furnished. Ignited.
All sports activities. Excellent cuisine.
Phone Armonk Village 3-8155 & 3-3162



CENTRAL VALLEY, NEW YORK
45 miles from New York City
Sports • Music and Book Library • Dancing
Open All Year Round
Telephone: HIGHLAND MILLS 3071



Spring is the perfect time for a won-
derful vacation at Forest House. Ex-
cellent cuisine, fine accommodations;
warm hospitality. Two grand lakes;
all sports. Low spring rates prevail
through June.
50 MILES from N. Y. C.
Lake Mahopac, N. Y. Tel. Mahopac 8-3688



St. Adolphe de Howard • Prov. Quebec, Canada
Holiday in the heart of the beautiful Laurentians
in French Canada. 60 miles from Montreal. Ameri-
can-Jewish Cuisine. \$40 (Canadian funds) per week.
(10% premium on U. S. money.) Open June 16.
For folder or reservations write or phone:
MRS. A. H. LEWIS
4365 Beaconsfield Ave., Montreal 28, Canada
Tel.: WA 3375



50 MI. FROM NEW YORK
Ridgefield, Conn. • Phone 820
A beautiful country estate con-
verted into a vacation paradise
for adults. Magnificent private
lake. All seasonal sports. Varied
indoor activities. Television.
Superb accommodations and cuisine. Weekly
rates \$50 up; daily \$10 up.



THIS ADULT CAMP
in Picturesque Gloucester
CAMP ANNISQUAM — a bit of rugged land and
seashore—swimming, sailing, boating and fishing
on premises. Dancing, tennis, planned trips and
all sports. Write for booklet and rates to Abram Resnick, Dir.,
Gloucester, Mass., OPENS JUNE 15.



IN THE MONADNOCK REGION
Private lake frontage, bathing, boating, fish-
ing. For adults wishing restful vacations. In-
dividual cottages or rooms. Private baths and
other modern conveniences. Excellent food.
Rates, double, from \$100 per week. American
plan.
For information write
BOX 77, MUMSONVILLE, N. H.



POTTERSVILLE, N. Y.
AN ADULT CAMP IN THE ADIRONDACKS
SPECIAL JUNE RATES
Limited to 100 • Dancing • All Sports
New York Office: 33 W. 42 St. LO 5-3674
The Rare Charm of an Intimate Congenial Group